



# FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN

*An interpretation of current international events by the Research Staff of the Foreign Policy Association*

FOREIGN POLICY ASSOCIATION, Incorporated

22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

VOL. XXIII, No. 5

NOVEMBER 19, 1943

## LEBANESE CRISIS CREATES NEW RIFT IN FRENCH-ALLIED RELATIONS

**W**HAT at first appeared to be two totally unrelated events—the reorganization of the French Committee of National Liberation in Algiers on November 9 and the arrest of Lebanese officials by the French troops in Beirut two days later—seem upon closer inspection to have common roots in the desire of French leaders to maintain and strengthen their political position before final blows are struck against Germany. The resignation of General Giraud from his position of co-President of the Committee on November 9 marked the growth of General de Gaulle's influence, which has been in the ascendant since his arrival in Algiers last May.

One factor in de Gaulle's success as a popular leader has undoubtedly been his nationalist stand, which Britain and the United States unwittingly encouraged last summer when they delayed nearly three months in recognizing the French Committee. More recently, the omission of the French Committee from the Moscow discussions has caused de Gaulle to voice additional protests against the Allies. Although French resentment at the Anglo-American attitude toward the Committee may have been justified, de Gaulle's present criticism of the Moscow Conference seems unfounded, for the participants in the Moscow meeting are bearing great and immediate responsibilities of a kind the French Committee is incapable of fulfilling. Moreover, the Tri-Power Agreement on Italy, which provides for consultation with the French Committee, foreshadows similar co-operation with French authorities when the German case is considered.

Important as the changes in the French Committee are as a sign of de Gaulle's increased strength, they are even more significant as an indication that the Committee is attempting to assure itself a leading position in liberated France. By appointing four new Commissioners who are direct representatives of the resistance movements in metropolitan France, de

Gaulle strengthened the Committee's claims to the custodianship of French affairs during the important transition period that will extend from the moment Allied troops land in France to the day elections are held for ascertaining the will of the French people. Whether Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union will agree to the French Committee's playing this role is one of the important pre-invasion issues now confronting the Allies.

**LEBANON AND FRENCH PROMISES.** The current disturbances in Lebanon and their repercussions throughout the Middle East are also complicating French-Allied relations. During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Lebanon was the stronghold of French authority and influence in the entire Middle East, for the predominantly Christian population—then under Turkish rule—frequently relied on French protection. When, however, France enlarged Lebanon in 1920 to increase French authority in this new mandate, the opposite effect was produced. Greater Lebanon, which includes many Moslems, opposed this mandate and frequently joined neighboring Syria in accusing France of dividing the region to prevent the development of national unity and achievement of ultimate independence. As a result of this opposition, which was intensified after Britain granted independence to Egypt in 1936 in response to nationalist pressure there, France promised both Lebanon and Syria their independence by 1939. Fulfillment of this pledge was deferred when World War II broke out and Axis propaganda seized the opportunity to promote anti-French feeling and prepare the way for Axis control of the Middle East. Under these conditions, the British and the Free French decided to wrest Lebanon and Syria from Vichy control, and General George Catroux proceeded to win the Syrians and Lebanese over to the Allies by proclaiming the independence and sovereignty of their states.

Accordingly, the Lebanese held elections, formed

a new government, and began the process of amending the constitution—one of the important prerogatives of sovereignty—to exclude non-Lebanese authorities and to make Arabic the only official language. Now, however, the French declare that the mandate can be terminated only by the League and contend that the agreement of 1936 must meanwhile be observed. To the Lebanese these are not likely to be persuasive arguments, particularly in view of the loss of life and injuries to religious sensibilities they have incurred during the past week. The loss of prestige the French have suffered by their resort to force is attested by the fact that the Archbishop of the Maronites—traditionally the staunchest supporters of French intervention in Lebanon—joined with Moslem leaders on November 11 against French “insults” to the Lebanese.

**BRITISH-FRENCH RIVALRY.** Britain’s immediate interest in the French-Lebanese situation springs not only from the support it gave the proclamation of independence in 1941 but from the use British forces are making of the Middle East as a military base. More far-reaching, however, are Britain’s own imperial interests, for Syria and Lebanon are neighbors of Iran, Iraq, Palestine and Egypt, where Britain is eager to keep the good will of the Arab populations. Because of this British stake in the Middle East and the age-old rivalry that has existed between Britain and France in this area, the French naturally view British protests with suspicion. In this connection,

the French undoubtedly recall that it was only with great reluctance that Britain agreed that Syria and Lebanon should become French mandates at the close of World War I and fear that, if these states become independent, they will inevitably lean toward Britain as the strongest power in the Middle East. In an effort to prevent this preponderant British influence from permanently undermining the position of France in this area, the French may be expected to oppose British intervention in Lebanon.

**PAN-ARAB ASPIRATIONS.** The possibility that the politically conscious Arabs of the entire Middle East may support the Lebanese is indicated by the protests Egypt, Iraq and Saudi Arabia have made against the French action. The pan-Arab feeling demonstrated in this crisis may be expected to influence future Allied decisions concerning the Middle East. That the United States will be concerned with these problems is clear from the strong protests the State Department made to the French Committee when the disorders broke out.

The clashing interests in Lebanon, fortunately, do not now present the threat to the Allied war effort that they would have two years ago. But some peril still exists and, for immediate military reasons as well as the future peace settlement, the Lebanese should at once receive an inter-Allied guarantee of independence to become effective as soon as the Middle East ceases to be a strategic base.

WINIFRED N. HADSEL

## LATIN AMERICAN LABOR PLANS FOR THE FUTURE

**MEXICO CITY.**—Early this month Señor Vicente Lombardo Toledano, leader of Latin America’s trade union federation—*Confederación de Trabajadores de la América Latina* (CTAL), which recently completed its fifth year of existence and claims to represent 4,650,000 organized workers in 14 Latin American countries—publicly confirmed the Confederation’s decision to call an Inter-American Economic Conference in 1944 in Mexico City to study the war and post-war economic problems of the Western Hemisphere. The main task of the Conference will be to set up a coordinated economic plan to increase each Latin American country’s contribution to the war effort, and to convert to peacetime work with the least possible dislocation. According to Lombardo Toledano, the application of a pan-American economic plan is indispensable to the retention or improvement of already existing democratic rights in Latin America. Only a working plan, he warns, can prevent the present economic crisis from becoming a catastrophe, and at the same time enable the Latin American nations to contribute their share to the rehabilitation of war-ravaged areas of the Old World.

**LAYING THE GROUNDWORK.** The story of the Inter-American Economic Conference goes back to

November 1941, when Lombardo Toledano submitted to the first Council of the CTAL, assembled at Mexico City, a comprehensive report on economic and social conditions in Latin America, stressing the necessity of a planned war economy in all of these countries, and an increase in the exchange of goods between them. On the basis of this preliminary report, the CTAL Council urged its affiliates to prepare for the next meeting studies dealing with reorganization of the national economy in the various Latin American countries. Delegates to the second Council meeting, held at Havana, Cuba, in July 1943, submitted to the Confederation substantiated reports on the economic situation in and the essential needs of their respective countries. Although various political questions were discussed, the Havana meeting dealt principally with economic problems, and with plans for the 1944 conference.

The Inter-American Economic Conference will be called together by the CTAL, and invitations to participate in the discussions will go not only to affiliated federations, but to all American governments and to the most important industrial and agricultural employers’ organizations. The conference will thus follow the pattern established by the International Labor

# The Annual Meeting of the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, will be held at the Hunter Playhouse, 68th Street and Park Avenue, New York, on Saturday, December 4, 1943.

The brief business meeting will be held at 2:00 p.m. immediately preceding the afternoon meeting (2:30 p.m.)

FRANK ROSS McCOY, President

## PROXY FOR BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The candidates listed below have been nominated to serve on the Board of Directors of the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, as indicated, and have expressed their willingness to act if elected. The word "Re-election" appears after the names of the present members of the Board of Directors who have consented to run again.

Persons other than those nominated by the Nominating Committee are eligible to election, and space is provided on the proxy for naming such other candidates. Attention is called to the fact that

"All members of the Board of Directors shall be members of the Association who are so circumstanced that they can attend the meetings of the Board regularly."

Constitution, Article IV, Paragraph 3.

In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the candidates receiving the largest number of votes cast at the annual meeting December 4, 1943 will be declared elected.

Please note that proxies cannot be used

1. unless received at National Headquarters not later than Wednesday, December 1, 1943.
2. unless the proxy returned is signed by the member.

Only members of the Association who are citizens of the United States have voting privileges.

Nominating Committee: James G. McDonald, *Chairman*  
Ernest Angell Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach  
Mrs. William H. Good Albert G. Milbank.

Please cut along this line and sign and return the proxy to the office of the  
Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

## PROXY

Put cross (x) beside names of candidates of your choice.

Vote for six in Class of 1946.

I authorize Frank Ross McCoy or Sherman S. Hayden to vote for directors of the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated, as indicated below:

### CLASS OF 1946

JAMES P. BAXTER	RE-ELECTION		FRANCIS T. P. PLIMPTON	RE-ELECTION	
MRS. BAYARD JAMES	RE-ELECTION		EMIL RIEVE		
PHILIP C. JESSUP	RE-ELECTION		GEORGE N. SHUSTER	RE-ELECTION	

(Sign here) .....

Member



Office of the League of Nations for its world conferences. According to CTAL officers, some of the governments so far approached have promised to send representatives. Since preliminary work has only just begun, it is too early to know what attitude the greater number of governments will take toward the conference. It is expected, however, that definite commitments to attend will be on hand by the end of the year.

**SUGGESTED ECONOMIC REFORMS.** Señor Lombardo Toledano recently described the general goals of the conference, which will serve as a basis for discussion at the forthcoming meeting, as follows: raising the Latin American living standard; spurring technical progress; mechanizing agriculture; opening up new fields of production; and eliminating wasteful methods. Much bolder suggestions will probably be put forward later, and the direction they may take can be at least partially inferred from the minimum national economic plan adopted by one of the leading CTAL affiliates—*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos* (CTM). This body is still strongly influenced by Lombardo Toledano, who announced the plan on August 29, 1943 during a speech delivered in the main square of Mexico City.

Besides calling for immediate measures to improve living conditions in Mexico during the war, the CTM program also advocates the introduction of such post-war economic measures as government control over foreign trade to encourage imports of machinery and other commodities needed for improvement in the standard of living of the masses, to curb luxury imports, and to prevent the export of products needed at home; maintenance after the war of price control measures, notably on staple foods and other articles indispensable to life and work; lowering of all agricultural rents to a maximum of 10 per cent of declared land value; and distribution at the lowest possible cost, either by government or other non-profit agencies, of all essential commodities, with a view to eliminating speculation and undue profits on essential goods.

The plan of the Mexican Workers Federation (CTM) is probably the most radical of those now being prepared by workers' organizations all over Latin America. Considering Mexico's leading role in the labor field, it would not be surprising if the CTM plan were used as a model for the programs which the national delegations will submit to the 1944 conference. It remains to be seen, however, what kind of reception these suggestions will meet with at the hands of the government and non-worker delegates.

Opposition from these groups to any far-reaching changes might well prevent the meeting from laying the basis for social progress—as was, unfortunately, only too often the case with the deliberations of the International Labor Conferences.

ERNEST S. HEDIGER

Mrs. Dean is attending the first session of the Council of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration which opened in Atlantic City on November 10. She will resume her contributions to the *FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN* at the close of the Council session.

*The Amazon: The Life Story of A Mighty River*, by Caryl P. Haskins. Garden City, Doubleday, Doran, 1943. \$4.00

The story of the river is told by discussing the six countries in its basin, historically, geographically and politically.

*Our Army Today*, by Kendall Banning. New York, Funk and Wagnalls, 1942. \$2.50

Useful, entertainingly written explanation of the army for the layman.

*A Social Psychology of War and Peace*, by Mark A. May. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1943. \$2.75

Elucidates the author's theory that man's environment brings about his attitude toward peace or war, rather than any factors inherent in human nature.

## Christmas Gifts

As another Christmas approaches, we remind FPA members and subscribers to give friends a membership in the Association or a Headline Series subscription. In the critical year ahead, your gift will be read, re-read, and shared as a living record of the war and the emerging post-war world.

REGULAR MEMBERSHIP\* . . . . . \$5.00

ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP\* (open only to teachers, full-time students, librarians, social workers and the clergy) . . . . . \$3.00

SPECIAL HEADLINE SERIES SUBSCRIPTION (10 issues) . . . . . \$2.00

\*Includes weekly *Foreign Policy Bulletin* and *Headline Series*.

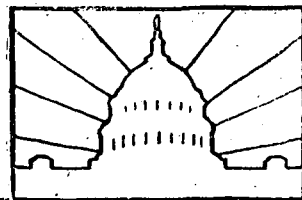
If you act promptly, we shall do our part to see that your Christmas gifts and announcement cards are taken care of in good time.

*FOREIGN POLICY BULLETIN*. Vol. XXIII, No. 5, NOVEMBER 19, 1943. Published weekly by the Foreign Policy Association, Incorporated. National Headquarters, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y. FRANK ROSS MCCOY, *President*; DOROTHY F. LEBT, *Secretary*; VERA MICHELES DEAN, *Editor*. Entered as second-class matter December 2, 1921, at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Three Dollars a Year. Please allow at least one month for change of address on membership publications.

F. P. A. Membership (which includes the Bulletin), Five Dollars a Year  
Produced under union conditions and composed and printed by union labor.



# Washington News Letter



ATLANTIC CITY, NOV. 14.—A world coalition for peace is being fashioned in Atlantic City, where the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration opened its first Council session on November 10. At the Moscow Conference the four great powers—Britain, Russia, China and the United States—joined forces to complete the war and map post-war organization. Atlantic City brings together 44 countries to help lay the economic and social foundations of peace. The business of these nations is to devise a formula for supplying, transporting and distributing the goods that will be needed by the liberated countries; to find homes for 30,000,000 displaced persons; and to finance this gigantic task.

ONE FOR ALL, ALL FOR ONE. The agreement creating UNRRA was signed in the White House on November 9 by representatives of 44 countries—33 United Nations, 10 associated powers, and the French Committee of National Liberation. President Roosevelt, signing for the United States, declared that the members of UNRRA “mean business.” When the Council meeting opened in Atlantic City on November 10 the delegates, in their formal speeches, stressed the need for speed and action. Assistant Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Chairman of the Council, said that UNRRA, whose headquarters are to be in Washington, would be ready “to roll” by the end of winter.

The political philosophy that inspires plans for UNRRA is that the world is a unit, each section of which is responsible for the well-being of all. Herbert H. Lehman, former Governor of New York, who on November 11 was unanimously elected Director General of UNRRA, said the organization’s cardinal principle should be to help people help themselves. A Tory M.P., Col. John J. Llewellyn, British delegate who has just been appointed Minister for Food, synthesized UNRRA philosophy in the Marxian quotation: “From each according to his means; to each according to his needs.”

With respect to needs, Sir Frederick Leith-Ross of Great Britain, presented to the Council the report of the Inter-Allied Committee on Postwar Requirements, of which he has been chairman from its inception on September 24, 1941. This report states that the nine European occupied countries—Belgium, Luxembourg, Czechoslovakia, France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland and Yugoslavia—will need 45,855,000 metric tons of imports during the first six months after their liberation. To the needs of

these nine countries must be added the unknown requirements of the Soviet Union, Asia, probably Denmark, and perhaps the enemy countries. Director General Lehman said UNRRA would aim at supplementing the diets of liberated peoples to provide each person with 2,000 calories a day. The Council was told by delegates that the Polish diet now is 800 calories daily, that of Jews in Poland 400, and that of Belgians 1200 to 1300.

WHERE ARE THE SUPPLIES? The means of supply are controlled mainly by the United States, the British Commonwealth of Nations, and the British Empire, and their supply policy at the present time is governed above all by war requirements. Leith-Ross cautioned the Council that so long “as war operations continue, the program of relief and rehabilitation must be subject to the exigencies of the general war situation.” The spokesmen for the smaller countries at Atlantic City admit the need for giving war supplies first priority, but wonder whether UNRRA will be represented before the Combined Boards in Washington which control international movements of supplies. The establishment of UNRRA provides an opportunity for the governments of the United Nations to overhaul their wartime intergovernmental economic machinery, which now consists of semi-autonomous boards and agencies only loosely held together and, until now, dominated by Britain and the United States.

These two countries, together with Russia and China, compose the Central Committee of the UNRRA Council, which is empowered to make decisions between Council sessions, subject to review and veto by the Council. UNRRA itself developed out of the Inter-Allied Committee—which is to be replaced by the UNRRA Regional Committee for Europe—and the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, established by President Roosevelt on November 22, 1942 with Herbert Lehman as its Director. UNRRA Director General Lehman encouraged the smaller countries at the Council meeting by declaring in his speech of November 11: “I shall act as a representative of all the member governments, neither seeking nor accepting instructions from any individual government.” It is already clear that the extent to which Governor Lehman will succeed in carrying out the difficult task assigned to him will depend on the degree of cooperation he obtains from the governments represented on the Council.

BLAIR BOLLES

1918—TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE F.P.A.—1943